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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 30 April 1993, at 11.30 a.m.

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| President: | Mr. MARKER | (Pakistan) |
| Members: | Brazil | Mr. SARDENBERG |
| | Cape Verde | Mr. JESUS |
| | China | Mr. LI Zhaoxing |
| | Djibouti | Mr. OLHAYE |
| | France | Mr. MERIMEE |
| | Hungary | Mr. ERDOS |
| | Japan | Mr. HATANO |
| | Morocco | Mr. SNOUSSI |
| | New Zealand | Mr. O'BRIEN |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. VORONTSOV |
| | Spain | Mr. MARTINEZ SALAZAR |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. RICHARDSON |
| | United States of America | Mr. WALKER |
| | Venezuela | Mr. ARRIA |

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The meeting was called to order at 12.05 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF WELCOME TO THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CHINA

The PRESIDENT: I should like, at the outset of the meeting, to extend, on behalf of the Council, a warm welcome to the new Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Li Zhaoxing. We very much look forward to working with him on the Council. He brings with him a vast and varied diplomatic experience. We wish you, Mr. Ambassador, a warm welcome.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Mr. President, in my very first statement in this lofty Security Council Chamber as the new Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, please allow me to express my heartfelt thanks to you for your kind words of welcome on behalf of the other members of the Council.

At the same time, I should like to express my thanks to the Secretary-General for his welcome.

Mr. President, April will end soon, and, as President of the Council for this month, you have successfully guided the work of the Council with your remarkable talents and rich diplomatic experience. I wish to congratulate you on your outstanding efforts. What is particularly worth mentioning is that you are always full of energy and quick in your thinking, whether at the weekends when the Council has to hold urgent meetings or during the long sessions that sometimes last into the small hours. For this, I should like to express my personal admiration and respect.

We are happy to note that, with the change in the international situation, the Security Council is playing an increasingly important role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

As a permanent member of the Council, China will, as always, be committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and will make its own contribution to the maintenance of international peace, the promotion of development and the peaceful settlement of international conflicts. In this respect, I look forward to cooperating closely with the representatives here in the joint effort for the achievement of the noble goals of the Charter of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the People's Republic of China for his kind words addressed to me.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION RELATING TO NAGORNY-KARABAKH

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO THE STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN CONNECTION WITH THE SITUATION RELATING TO NAGORNY-KARABAKH (S/25600)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Arzoumanian (Armenia) and Mr. Hassanov (Azerbaijan) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement of the President of the Security Council in connection with the situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh, document S/25600.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25695, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/25564, letter dated 7 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25584, S/25599, S/25603 and S/25641, letters dated 12, 13, 15 and 20 April 1993, respectively, from the Permament Representative of Azerbaijan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25626, letter dated 17 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Armenia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25660 and S/25671, letters dated 8 and 27 April 1993, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25553, S/25573, S/25582, S/25583, S/25585, S/25602, S/25625, S/25634, S/25635, S/25650, S/25660, S/25664, S/25684 and S/25685, letters dated 7, 8, 12, 14, 19, 20, 26, 27 and 28 April 1993, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Azerbaijan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 28 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Azerbaijan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/25701.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/25695) to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 822 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution in the hope that, in the near future, we will be in a position to call a spade a spade. It disturbs us to have had to accept that this is a local conflict perpetrated and carried out solely by local Armenian forces. However, we all know only too well that the truth is that this is a conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In our view, it is impossible to be very optimistic so long as we continue to postpone any action on our part - as a minimum, a condemnation, pending the outcome of the protracted negotiations within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). We cannot hide our dismay that Armenia should be insisting, in defiance of international conviction and knowledge, that this is a conflict between Nagorny-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. In this respect, we demand that Armenia and Azerbaijan accept a

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

cease-fire and that Armenia withdraw from all territories occupied during the recent aggression.

The Council, in our view, cannot remain on the sidelines for too long in the face of an act of aggression of this gravity that has created a major humanitarian crisis and that threatens peace and security. The sooner we move in the right direction consistent with reality, the better.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The conflict that has arisen out of the situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh is a matter of serious concern to the Brazilian Government.

We welcome the adoption of this resolution. It indicates, in a somewhat clearer way than before, the readiness of the Security Council to follow with care, and periodically assess, the development of the grave confrontation unfolding in that region.

At a time when regional efforts are being intensified, it is certainly appropriate for the Security Council to reaffirm its support for the peace process being conducted for more than a year now by the Minsk Group, within the framework of the CSCE.

It is essential that the hostilities come to a halt, that the occupying forces withdraw from the Kelbajar district and that all parties and others concerned in the region desist from all kinds of hostile acts - including the blockade of basic goods and communications links - which could undermine the attainment of a lasting solution to the conflict, as well as unconditionally adhere to the peace negotiations in place under the aegis of the CSCE.

Special attention should be given to the provision of assistance to alleviate the humanitarian emergency described in the report of the

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Secretary-General. Unimpeded access to the region should be ensured for international humanitarian efforts.

It is our hope that the Minsk process will produce positive results and that a sustainable peace may soon be restored between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. We are confident that the Security Council will follow the situation closely as it evolves and will certainly not evade its responsibilities should further consideration of the role of the United Nations be required.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the Council's unanimous adoption of resolution 822 (1993) on the situation in Nagorny-Karabakh. In this way the international community is expressing its interest in a painful conflict to which the authorities and the public of my country attach very special interest. The French Government is guided in all it does with respect to this conflict by three principles; we welcome the fact that these are faithfully reflected in the resolution the Council has just adopted:

First, we think it essential to prevent these clashes from turning into a conflict between States. Here the preambular part of the resolution seems to us to strike a reasonable balance between acknowledging that tension exists between Armenia and Azerbaijan and recognizing the localized nature of the fighting.

Secondly, everything should be done to promote a negotiated settlement. As a country that participates in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), France is playing an active role in that framework, particularly in what has come to be called the Minsk Group. The committee of high-level CSCE officials met from last Monday to last Wednesday at Prague; we regret that it was impossible on that occasion for the parties to arrive at any conclusion. We welcome the Council's endorsement, with respect to the central question of the withdrawal of forces, of a formula that enjoyed nearly unanimous support within the CSCE.

Finally, humanitarian assistance is the third element of our action. We are therefore particularly gratified that the Security Council has strongly reffirmed the principle of unimpeded access by civilians to aid.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

I conclude by reiterating that France will spare no effort, on the multilateral level, to promote dialogue and the quest for a negotiated peace and, on the bilateral level, to bring a moderating influence to bear on the parties.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): The recent escalation of the fighting in the area is a very serious development, a development that in my delegation's view fully justifies the resolution that we have just adopted. There has been a depressing trend of military offensives, and at the same time an unwillingness on the part of a side which apparently is winning on the ground at any given moment to make any effort to compromise. The latest offensive has again coincided with renewed attempts within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) to get talks re-started. My delegation condemns unreservedly the recent offensive in Kelbadjar and Fizuli and the regions around them, and calls for an immediate withdrawal of forces from there.

Any military solution to the conflict is going to have appalling human consequences; the Secretary-General's latest report indicates the level of suffering that has already been inflicted. The number of displaced people already far exceeds the population of the region on which the conflict is centred. The humanitarian situation is therefore of great concern, and my delegation welcomes the efforts of various United Nations Agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as a number of non-governmental organizations, to alleviate the suffering.

In that connection I should like to mention that my own country has given over £900,000 for these efforts in the past six months, most recently a

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

grant for the emergency relief programme of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for new refugees from the Kelbadjar region.

We see no alternative to a peaceful solution, but this is going to need historic compromises on both sides and modifications of their stated positions. My delegation believes that the only realistic solution, given United Nations and CSCE principles, is for continued Azerbaijani sovereignty over Nagorny-Karabakh, with real autonomy for the local Armenian population. But if the parties choose instead to continue the conflict they are condemning themselves to years of economic and social misery and forsaking the historic opportunities that are offered by their hard-won independence.

The CSCE Minsk process is widely accepted - here at the United Nations and elsewhere, both by the European Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - as the right vehicle for negotiations. We welcome all the efforts of the Italian Chairman of these consultations, Mr. Raffaele, to find common ground between increasingly bitter adversaries. We regret that at the meeting of senior officials of the CSCE earlier this week the participants in that meeting were unable to agree upon a statement which would have permitted the early resumption of talks. That is why this resolution is so valuable: because it both provides firm backing for the CSCE process and includes the essential elements of a draft statement which could not be agreed upon at Prague because of the opposition of one party.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Today, unfortunately, it is not at all uncommon to see nationalist passions trigger armed conflict, which derails the stabilization of democracy in recently

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

independent countries. As we see in other parts of the world as well, this tragic phenomenon only causes human tragedy and the destruction of property and creates a psychological barrier between peoples and ethnic communities that bolsters the position of those who will not admit that those with different religious and ethnic origins can live in harmony and good-neighbourliness.

We are deeply concerned to see the use of force proliferating on the principle that brute force can settle admittedly difficult and complex problems that have been building up over decades or even centuries. We know full well that that principle can never settle such problems; rather, it can cause the destruction of whole towns and villages and the annihilation of peoples and ethnic communities. We note with increasing dismay that, given the lack of effective international action against arbitrary violence and genocide, some are drawing the conclusion that they can achieve their goals through aggression, driving hundreds of thousands of men, women and children from their homes and enjoying their booty with impunity.

The way in which the international community reacts to such developments is critical for the future of mankind.

Hungary thinks that today's resolution 822 (1993) is very important indeed. The resolution reaffirms that the United Nations will not accept a policy of faits accomplis, threats to regional stability, the use of force for the acquisition of territory, and the violation of international borders. We welcome the resolution, which demands the immediate cessation of all hostilities, the immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces, and a guarantee of unimpeded access for international humanitarian assistance in the region.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

In that connection, cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) must play an essential role. We are convinced that the peace process launched in the Minsk Group of the CSCE offers the best chance for a peaceful settlement of this problem.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Japan has been following the situation in Nagorny-Karabakh and surrounding areas with much concern. We urge the parties concerned immediately to cease all military hostilities and other hostile acts, and to withdraw from the Kelbadjar district and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

We believe that conflicts must be resolved through negotiations. In that respect, my delegation gives full support to the efforts being made by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Russian Federation. My Government also supports a possible initiative by the Secretary-General for lending technical assistance in the deployment of the CSCE monitoring mission.

The international community must, and will, continue to follow this issue closely.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Venezuela is following with keen interest and great concern the developments in the far eastern areas of Europe and in Central Asia. New countries and regions have joined our Organization, bringing with them their great humanitarian and cultural potential, thus enhancing the vitality of the international community. In so doing, neither they nor ourselves have remained immune to the consequences of the great political transformations that finally have given these nations and peoples their long-delayed independence.

Together with the vast potential, there are also major challenges facing the international community. We welcome them both. Even if the problems and needs to be met are difficult, they are now ours as well, and we are pleased to be able, through our Organization, to contribute to resolving them.

It is against this backdrop that we view the crisis affecting two Members of our Organization, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia. As Member States, they have both won rights and assumed obligations. They are entitled to find within the United Nations, and in particular within the

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Security Council, a neutral and objective body in which to air their differences. But it is a fundamental corollary that they are also obliged to respect and to ensure that their national communities and anyone else who claims a special relationship with them respect all of the norms and principles of international conduct, which they assumed when they signed the United Nations Charter. In particular, they must show absolute respect for one another's independence and territorial integrity and renounce the use of force as a way of solving disputes.

The widening conflict around Nagorny-Karabakh, which is now threatening more territory within the Republic of Azerbaijan, must be settled peacefully - and as quickly as possible. In that vein, two aspects of the conflict are of particular concern to my country, which has provided a haven for many members of the warring communities who have sought refuge from ancient conflict and persecution: on the one hand, we see problems alarmingly similar to those which gave rise to the crisis within the former Yugoslavia, particularly in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Once again, communities that for centuries had lived together in fellowship now prefer to invoke cultural and religiously based identities. Once again, tension is threatening the territorial integrity of a State. Once again, violence is the preferred way of dealing with problems that should instead be settled at the negotiating table.

On the other hand, we see a distorted concept of what should be the premise for peace in our time, the right to self-determination, with peoples choosing paths that divide them and undermine their shared cultural ties and centuries of peaceful coexistence.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

The international community must face up to these challenges. Therefore, we are pleased at the efforts of mediation unfolding today under the aegis of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and we urge the parties concerned to take a constructive part in those negotiations. Hence, the lack of understanding that still prevails cannot but concern us most profoundly.

Finally, we trust that it will be within the context of the regional bodies that solutions will progressively be identified. However, the Security Council cannot evade its responsibility to uphold the very principles that, in its judgement, must be abided by.

That was the basis for my delegation's affirmative vote on the resolution unanimously adopted by the Council today.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation is deeply concerned at the constant conflict around Nagorny-Karabakh. We are particularly concerned at the expansion of military hostilities towards areas adjacent to Nagorny-Karabakh. Those hostilities have exacerbated tensions and escalated the armed conflict. They can only hamper any international efforts to settle the conflict.

From the very beginning of its participation in the settlement of the Karabakh conflict and in its initiatives and within the framework of the Minsk Group on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and in the Security Council, Russia has constantly called for an immediate cessation of the bloodletting as a matter of top priority.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Among the many concrete proposals Russia has made to put an end to the military and other hostile acts are the blockade and de-escalation of the conflict. Had those proposals been heeded by all opposing parties in good time, the negative consequences of military hostilities would today be far fewer.

In connection with the new escalation of the conflict in Nagorny-Karabakh, the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolai Yeltsin, on 8 April, this year, appealed to the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan for an immediate halt to all hostilities and the start of serious conversations aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Confirming his readiness to make additional efforts to contribute to the cessation of hostilities and the beginning of a political settlement, President Yeltsin proposed his services as a mediator of the worsening conflict around Nagorny-Karabakh.

We are glad to note that in their replies the President of the Azerbaijan Republic, Mr. Elchibey, and the President of the Armenian Republic, Mr. Ter-Petrossian, accepted the offer of the President of the Russian Federation.

Russia wishes to see a speedy solution to this conflict and is interested in contributing actively by all existing means. We certainly do not consider our endeavours an alternative to pan-European efforts. We energetically support the Council's decisive appeal, contained in the resolution just adopted, that all parties negotiate their grievances within the framework of the Minsk Group of CSCE.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Only a political settlement, achieved on the basis of mutual compromise and concessions, can be a durable element of stability in the region. We confirm our readiness, together with other States, to continue to provide all forms of assistance in the search for a political settlement, acceptable to all participants in the conflict.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Pakistan.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 822 (1993) in the firm belief that it would contribute positively to the ongoing peace efforts within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to put an immediate end to all hostilities in the region and would lead to an expeditious withdrawal of all Armenian forces from the territory of the Azerbaijani Republic, including the Kelbadjar district and the Lachin area.

My delegation calls upon the concerned States to respect scrupulously the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of the region. My delegation further calls upon the concerned States to respect the inviolability of international borders of all States and to refrain from the use or the threat of thes use of force.

It is the understanding of my delegation that the expression "other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan" (resolution 822 (1993), para. 1) includes, inter alia, the Lachin area.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.